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Shakspere and Spenser

On the Dating of Shakspere's Plays

Something Shakspere Left Out

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1935)
Compiled by
SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,300 periodicals and hundreds of books, is a continuation of that published in this BULLETIN in January, 1935. Perfunctory notices of books, blurbs, and reviews which contribute nothing new, have not been noted. The names of female writers are distinguished by a colon (instead of a period) after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year is mentioned in connection with an item, '1935' is to be understood. Reviews of books are listed (without a preceding number), without title, immediately after the books themselves. The discussion of a book is indicated by printing the title within single quotes. The abbreviations employed herein, and what they stand for, follow herewith:

A	— Anglia
Amer.	— American
Archiv	— Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen
B	— Bulletin
Beibl.	— Beiblatt z. Anglia
bib.	— bibliography
BJRL	— Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Cambr.	— Cambridge
comp.	— compiler
CR	— Contemporary Review
CUP	— Cambridge University Press
Diss.	— Dissertation
ed., edd.	— editor, editors
EJ	— English Journal
ELH	— Journal of English Literary History
Eliz'n	— Elizabethan
Engl.	— English
ES	— English Studies
ESn	— Englische Studien
facs., facss.	— facsimile, facsimiles
FR	— Fortnightly Review
GR	— Germanic Review
GRM	— Germanisch - Romanische Monatschrift
HUP	— Harvard University Press
ils, illusts.	— illustrated, illustrations
J	— Journal
JEGP	— Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Ln	— London.
M	— Magazine
MLN	— Modern Language Notes
MLR	— Modern Language Review
Mo	— Monthly
MP	— Modern Philology
NQ	— Notes and Queries
NSN	— New Statesman and Nation
OUP	— Oxford University Press
P	— Press
pll.	— plates
PMLA	— Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n.
port	— portrait
p.p.	— privately printed
PQ	— Philological Quarterly
Q	— Quarterly.
R	— Review, Revue
RAA	— Revue Anglo-Américaine
Repr.	— Reprinted
RES	— Review of English Studies
Ru	— Russian
S	— Shakespeare, Shakspere
SAB	— Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
SJ	— Shakespeare Jahrbuch
Sn	— Shakespearean, Shaksperian
SP	— Studies in Philology
SR	— Saturday Review (London)
SRL	— Saturday Review of Literature (N. Y.)
TAM	— Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	— Times Literary Supplement (Ln)
tr.	— translator
U	— University
UP	— University Press

A name and title-index will be published in the April issue of the BULLETIN. The compiler's best thanks are due to the publishers, libraries, and personal friends who have assisted him in one way or another in making this compilation. Among the last he is especially indebted to his devoted friend William B. Kempling.

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8404. Gemeinschaft u. Gewissen in *Cor.* —E. Baumgarten.—Die Neueren Sprachen, nos. 9 & 10, pp. 363-84 and 413-25.

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8422. What is the 'genuine' text?—C. S. Lewis, TLS, p. 288 (May 2), p 331 (May 23); F. W. Bateson; TLS, p. 301 (May 9); J. D. Wilson; TLS, p. 313 (May 16), p. 380 (June 13); W. J. Lawrence; TLS, p. 331 (May 23), p. 364 (June 6); W. W. Greg; TLS, p. 364 June 6); P. Alexander; TLS, p. 489 (Aug. 1).—R. W. Chapman, *id.*

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8430. J. D. Wilson's *The Manuscript of S's 'H'* (1934).—L. L. Schücking; Beiblatt, 46: 97-104 (Apr.), 129-37 (May).

8432. 'This too too solid flesh.'—H. W. Crundell.—NQ, 168: 114, Feb. 16.

8432. The interpret'n of a passage in I, ii.—K. Young.—MLR, 30: 348-53, July.

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8439. *H,* I, ii, 65.—A. Schröer.—A, 59: 385-7, June.

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8441. S in the theatre of the U. S. S. R. [Ru.]—Teatr Dramaturgie, Aug., 7 ils.

8442. Hamlet's dozen lines.—E. H. Oliphant, *et al.*—TLS, p. 537 (Aug. 29), p. 552 (Sept. 5), p. 565 (Sept. 19).

8443. The dumb-show in *H.*—J. Purves. —TLS, p. 580, Sept. 19.

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8445. S's Italianate courtier: Osric.—J. W. Draper.—R. de Litt. Comp., 15: 289-97, Apr.

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8448. *What Happens in 'H'.*—J. D. Wilson.—N. Y.: Macmillan, pp. viii, 334, $3.50.—G. Rylands; NSN, 10: 486-88, Oct. 12.—TLS, pp. 617-18, Oct. 10.—NQ, 169: 304-06, Nov. 2.

8449. A scene from *H* in Newcastle-on-Tyne.—TAM, Apr., facing p. 125.

8450. Gielgud in *H* [*1 il.*].—TAM, 19: 107, Feb.

8451. Lord Chamberlain Polonius.—J. W. Draper.—SJ (1935), 71: 78-93.

8452. *H:* the dumbshow.—M. H. Dodds. —NQ, 169: 334-35, Nov. 9.

8453. Ophelia and the 'nunnery.'—W. H. Dodds.—NQ, 169: 351, Nov. 16.

8454. The Murder of Gonzago.—G. Bullough.—MLR, 30: 433-44, Oct.

8455. *Corpus Hamleticum: Hamlet in Sage u. Dichtung.*—J. Schick.—Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1934, pp. xii, 450, RM 30.

8456. The rugged Pyrrhus and Hamlet.—W. H. Crundell.—TLS, p. 770, Nov. 23.

8457. Wrong from the beginning: still going.—Don Marquis.—Stage, Dec., p. 30.

8458. The dumb-show in *H.*—H. W. Crundell.—NQ, 169: 394, Nov. 30.

8459. Plan for teaching *H.*—J. Grumette. —High Points (N. Y.), 17: 11-17, Oct.

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Henry IV (*H4*)

8460. Was *2H4* censored?—A. Hart. — In *S and the Homilies* (Melbourne, 1934), pp. 154-218.

8461. Falstaff.—H. B. Charlton.—B. John Rylands Library, 19: 46-89, Jan.

8462. The non-Sn *Richard II* and *1H4*. —J. J. Elson.—SP, 32: 177-88, Apr.

8463. *Falstaff and his Friends*. — C. C. Clark.—[Shrewsbury: Wilching & Son], pp. 136, bib, 5s. (Falstaff on the stage, pp. 118-28.)

8464. The date of *1H4*.—J. M. Purcell. —NQ, 168: 383-84, June 1.

8465. How Falstaff brought Holinshed up to date.—M. A. Taylor.—SAB, 10: 118-36, July.

8466. The death of Falstaff: a fantasy.— A. M. Sampley.—SAB, 10: 151-56, July.

8467. The date of *1H4*.—H. W. Crundell; NQ, 168: 424 (June 15).—M. H. Dodds; NQ, 169: 32-33 (July 13).

8468. 'Three and fifty upon poor old Jack.' [*1H4*, II, iv.]—G. R. Stewart, Jr. —PQ, 14: 274-75, Apr.

8469. *Sources of the Text of 'H4'* (continued).—R. P. Cowl.—Glasgow: Wm. McDougall, June 1934, Dec. 1934, Apr. 1935, 3 parts, pp. 16 (not numbered), p.p.

8470. 'To Falstaff' [*poem*].—M: Steffan. —English J, 24: 834, Dec.

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8471. *King Henry V: A Chronicle*.—P. Lindsay.—Ln: I. Nicholson & Watson, 1934, pp. 384, 8 ils, 10s. 6d.

8472. *Henry V*.—J. D. G. Davies.—Ln, pp. xii, 312, map.

8473. This 'nook-shotten isle.'—A. Mawer. TLS, p. 477, July 25.

8473a. S. and Agincourt.—W. H. Crundell. —NQ, 169: 295 (Oct. 26), 336-37 (Nov. 9).

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Henry VI (*H6*)

8474. A note on the authorship of *H6*. —A. L. Everett.—SAB, 10: 106-08, Apr.

8475. *2* and *3H6*: which Holinshed?— L: King.—PMLA, 50: 745-52, Sept.

8476. *H6* and the *Contention* plays.—W. W. Greg.—PMLA, 50: 919-20, Sept.

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Henry VIII (*H8*)

8478. *The Private Life of Henry VIII*. [A movie.]—L. Biro, A. Wimperis. (A. Korda, director, intr. by E. Betts.)—Ln: Methuen, 1934, pp. xx, 108; 3s. 6d.

8479. *H8*. [With introd'n, notes, etc.] —M. R. Ridley, ed.—Ln: Dent, 2s.

8480. Henry VIII.—A. F. Pollard.—In *The Great Tudors*, pp. 23-33.

8481. Cardinal Wolsey.—E. P. Cheyney. —In *The Great Tudors*, pp. 71-84.

8482. *Wolsey*.—A. Sampson.—Ln: Duckworth, pp. 136, 2s.

8483. Scenes from *H8* and *H5* [*2 ils.*].— TAM, 19: 877, Nov.

8484. *Henry VIII, His Wives, and the Pope, 1527-1540*. — L. McCabe. — Ln: Cranton, 5 ils, 7s. 6d.

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8485. *JC*. ('The New Temple S.')—M. R. Ridley, ed.—Ln, 1934, pp. xiv, 124; 2s.

8486. Klangwirkung u. Wortstellung [in *JC*]. — W. Franz. — Engl. Studien, 70: 129-31, Apr.

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8488. S's Brutus: a character study.—E. B. Storr.—Ln Q and Holborn R, July, pp. 322-30.

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8489. *KJ*.—M. R. Ridley, ed.—N. Y.: E. P. Dutton & Co., 65c.

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8490. A note on I, iv, 364-67. [Read 'attach'd' for 'attask'd'.]—H. W. Crundell. —NQ, 168: 60-61, Jan. 26.

8491. The stage-history of *KL*. [Rus.]— L. Friedkina.—Teatr Dramaturgie, Apr. no. 4, pp. 35-38, 7 ils.

8492. *KL* in the Jewish theatre in Russia. [Ru.]—I. Nusinov.—Teatr Dramaturgie, no. 6, June, pp. 4-10, 7 ils.

8493. The verse-lining of Q1 of *KL*.—E. Hubler.—In *Essays in Dramatic Literature* [no. 8080], pp. 421-42.

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8496. *KL* as interpreted by Michaelis and staged in GOSET. [Ru.]—S. Nels.—Krasnaia Nov, June, pp. 193-98.

8497. S, Chaucer, and Harsnett.—F. E. Budd.—RES, 11: 421-29, Oct.

8498. *KL* in Russia [*1 il.*].—*TAM*, 19: 435, June.

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8500. The quarto of *KL* and Bright's shorthand.—M: Doran.—MP, 33: 139-57, Nov.

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8502. The background to *KL*: a time of troubles and portents.—G. B. Harrison. TLS, Dec. 28, p. 896.
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8503. 'Hedge-preacher.'—E. Bensly, *et al.* —NQ, 169: 157-58, Aug. 31.

8504. 'The Masque of the Muscovites' in *LLL*.—F. Sorenson.—MLN, 50: 499-501, Dec.

8505. Don Armado as a gallant.—D. G. Boughner.—RAA, 13; 18-28, Oct.

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8508. Zur Quelle des *M*.—A. Brandl.—ESn, 70: 169-80, Apr.

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8512. 'The sere, the yellow leaf.'—C. T. Onions.—TLS, p. 671, Oct. 24.
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8518. Usury in *MV*.—J. W. Draper.—MP, 33; 37-47, Aug.—S.A.T.; SAB, 10; 247, Oct.
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8520. F. Huehn as Falstaff.—TAM, 19: 425, June.
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8521. *'MND.'*—B. Martin.—TLS, p. 48, Jan. 24.

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8528. Is *MA* a revised earlier play?—A. Gaw.—PMLA, 50: 715-38, Sept.

8529. The public repudiation of Hero.—N: Page.—PMLA, 50: 739-44, Sept.

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8532. *MA.* [With introd'n, notes, glossary.]—M. R. Ridley, ed.—N. Y.: Dutton, pp. xiv, 134, 65c.

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8535. Le probleme de la perle d' *O.*—Mercure de France, 255; 220-22 (Oct. 1, 1934), 256: 210-16 (Nov. 15). —

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8541. The date of *O.*—A. Hart; TLS, p. 631 (Oct. 10). — A. S. Cairncross; TLS, p. 671 (Oct. 24).—R. Noble; TLS, p. 859 (Dec. 14).
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Richard II

8544. Censored S.—H. Farjeon.—NS, 8: 544-45, Oct. 20, 1934.

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8548. [Six settings for *R3* by Tverskoi, painted by Tyschler.]—Teatr Dramaturgie, May, opp. p. 32, ils.

8549. *R3* on the stage.—J. G. MacManaway; TLS, p. 416 (June 27).—M. Summers, TLS, p. 432 (July 4).
See 8307.

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8550. K: Cornell's Juliet.—S. Young.—New Republic, 81: 252, Jan. 9.

8551. 'How now, Juliet?' [A survey of Juliets.]—L: Allison, F: Webb.—Trend, 2: 221-26, Jan.

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8563. *Sunlight on S's Sonnets.*—G. W. Phillips.—Ln: T. Butterworth, pp. 202. See 8383.

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8564. *TS* produced by Lunt and Fontanne. —B. Atkinson; N. Y. Times, Oct. 1, p. 27.—P. Hammond; N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Oct. 1.

8565. Scenes from *TS* [*2 ils.*].—TAM, 19: 477 (July), 812 (Nov.). (*Cf.* pp. 821-22.)

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8566. S's Miranda.—M: H. Sturgiss.—SAB, 10: 36-44, Jan.

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8569. *T* and its critics.—M. Luce.—In *Man and Nature,* pp. 17-25.

8570. *'T.'*—E. Thompson.—In the 'Eversly *S*' (N. Y., Macmillan).

8571. A scene from *T* at the Sloane School.—Drama, June, facing p. 157.

8572. A scene from *T* given in Sweden.—TAM, 19: 338, May.

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Timon of Athens (*Timon*)

8574. Syphilis in S's *Timon.* — A. H. Woods.—Amer. J of Psychiatry, 91: 95-107, July 1934.
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Timon of Athens (*Timon*)

8575. A passage in *Titus* emended.—W. Worrall.—TLS, p. 838, Dec. 7.

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8578. Two scenes from *T&C* at the Carnegie Institute.—TAM, 19: 230, Mar.

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8582. A scene from *TN* by the Andover Dramatic Soc.—Drama, July, facing p. 172.

Two Gentlemen of Verona (*TGV*)

8583. H. Rothe's production of *TGV* [*photo*].—TAM, 19: 960, Dec.
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Two Noble Kinsmen (*TNK*)

8584. S and the vocabulary of *TNK.*—A. Hart.—In *S and the Homilies* (Melbourne, 1934), pp. 242-56.

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8628. Th. Wyatt.—P. Chadburn.—In *The Great Tudors,* pp. 147-61.

8629. Pre-Eliz'n drama [with eight specimens].—E. W. Parks, R. C. Beatty, edd. —In *The English Drama,* pp. 1-97. (Includes *Abraham and Isaac, The Second Shepherd's Play, Robin Hood, Everyman, A Merry Play,* etc.)

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8631. T. Deloney's euphuistic learning and *The Forest.*—H. E. Rollins.—PMLA, 50: 679-86, Sept.

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8633. Notes on *Fulgens and Lucres.*—C. E. Jones.—MLN, 50: 508-09, Dec.

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8637. The time allotted for the representation of Eliz'n and Jacobean plays.—A. Hart.—In *S and the Homilies* (Melbourne, 1934), pp. 96-118.

8638. *Theatre and Stage: A Modern Guide to the Performance of All Classes of Amateur Dramatic, Operatic, and Theatrical Work.*—Many writers. (H. Downs, ed.)—Ln, 1934, 2v, many ils. (Producing S's plays, by H. Williams, 1: 489-92, 539-42, ils.)

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8670. S in K. Marx's *Capital.*—M. Nechkina.—International Literature, No. 3, March, pp. 75-81.

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8707. Identifications in *Colin Clout's Come Home*.—K. Koller.—MLN, 50: 155-58, Mar.

8708. Eliz'n chivalry and the Faerie Queene's annual feast.—I. L. Schulze.—MLN, 50: 158-61, Mar.

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8710. The serpent and the eagle in Sp and in Shelley.—C. W. Lemmi.—MLN, 50: 165-68, Mar.

8711. E. Sp.—W. L. Renwick.—In *The Great Tudors*, pp. 523-35.

8712. J. Hepwith's Spenserian satire upon Buckingham: with some Jacobean analogues.— H. H. Hudson.— Huntington Library B (No. 6), Nov. 1934, pp. 39-71.

8713. K. Digby's criticism of Sp. — J. Wurtsbaugh.—RES, 11: 192-95, Apr.

8714. A. C. Judson's *Sp. in Southern Ireland* (1933).— R. Kapp.— Beiblatt, 46: 43-45, Jan.

8715. H. Stein's *Studies in Sp's Complaints* (1934).—R. Kapp; Beiblatt, 46: 45-48, Jan.—H. S. V. Jones; JEGP, 34: 446-49, July.

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8718. Sp's *Fowre Hymnes:* addenda.—J. W. Bennett.—SP, 32: 131-57, Apr.

8719.—Sp's theory of friendship: an Elizabethan commonplace.—C. G. Smith.—SP, 32: 158-69, Apr.

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8721. The composition of the *Shepheardes Calender*.—R. B. Botting.—PMLA, 50: 423-34, June.

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8728. A reply to B. Freyd.—F. M. Padelford.—PMLA, 50: 908-13, Sept.

8729. Astery's transformation in *Muiopotmos*.—C. W. Lemmi.—PMLA, 50: 913-14, Sept.

8730. The date of the *Mutabilitie* cantos. —J. M. Purcell.—PMLA, 50: 914-17, Sept.

8731. Una and Duessa. — Roland M. Smith.—PMLA, 50: 917-19, Sept.

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8734. R. Knevett's 'Supplement to *FQ*.'—C. B. Millican.—TLS, p. 631, Oct. 10.

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8739. Sententious theory in Sp's legend of friendship.—C. G. Smith.—ELH, 2: 165-91, Sept.

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8748. *As You Like It, Merry Wives,* and *All's Well* performed in the S festival. —D. G. — Stratford-on-Avon Herald, Apr. 26.

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8760. Mary and Bothwell.—Scottish Notes and Queries, 13: 168, Nov.

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8766. *Behind the Footlights: A Book on the Technique of Dramatics.* — C. C. Mather, A: H. Spaulding, M: H. Skillen. —N. Y., pp. xii, 496, ils.

8767. The dramatic texture in S.—E. E. Stoll.—Criterion, 14: 586-607, July.

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TEXTUAL CRITICISM

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8777. The plates in Settle's *The Empress of Morocco.*—W. J. Lawrence.—TLS, p. 448, July 11.

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8780. *The Playhouse of Pepys.*—M. Summers.—Ln: K. Paul, pp. 213.—TLS, p. 444, July 11.

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8782. The imagery of *The Revenger's Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy.*—U: M. Ellis-Fermor.—MLR, 30: 289-301, July.

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8784. C. T. and Mr. T. S. Eliot.—E. H. C. Oliphant.—SP, 32: 546-52, Oct.

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8785. *Themes and Conventions of Eliz'n Tragedy.*— M: C. Bradbrook.— CUP (Macmillan), pp. viii, 276; $3.50.—S. A. Tannenbaum; SAB, 10: 114-15, Apr. —G. Putt, MP, 33: 202-06, Nov.

8786. Tragedy.—F. B. Millet, G. E. Bentley.—In *The Art of the Drama* (N. Y.), pp. 14-77. (S passim.)

8787. The tragic theodicy.—W. H. McCabe.—The Modern Schoolman, 12: 30-32, Jan.

8788. Over het Tragische. — B. J. H. Ovingk.—De Gids, Feb., pp. 211-18.

8789. Eliz'n tragedy.—F. B. Millett, G. E. Bentley.—In *The Art of the Drama,* pp. 41-52.

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8792. Das Geheimnis d. Tragischen.—H. Kern.—Die Literatur, Sept., pp. 594-96.

8793. Leading motives in S's tragedies.—C: F. Spurgeon.—In *S's Imagery,* pp. 309-55.

8794. Die Wertsphäre d. Tragischen.—E. von Ritook.—Zeit. f. Aesthetik, 29: 228-54.

8795. La signification de la tragédie.—J. Segond.—R des Cours et Conférences, 36: 261-81, May 15.

TRANSLATONS

8796. Ein Brief d. Grafen Wolf Baudissin ü. d. Vollendung d. Schlegel-Tieckschen S-Uebersetzung. — H. v. Langermann.—SJ, 71: 107-09.
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6798. The couplet.—R. David.—In *The Janus of Poets,* pp. 89-97.

WAR OF THE THEATRES

8799. Title-page mottoes in the Poetomachia.—R. B. Sharpe.—SP, 32: 210-20, Apr.
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8800. J. W. — M: C. Bradbrook. — In *Themes and Conventions* (Cambridge), pp. 186-212.

8801. *The White Devil.*—E. W. Parks, R. C. Beatty, edd.—In *The Engl. Drama,* pp. 1143-1230.

WIT

8802. The rhetorical pattern of neo-classical wit.—G. Williamson.—MP, 33: 55-82, Aug.

WOMAN

8803. S: a vindication. [Love and marriage in S.]—M. Luce.—In *Man and Nature,* pp. 3-32.

8804. Love in S.—M. Luce.—In *Man and Nature,* pp. 179-91.

8805. The popular controversy over woman in Eliz'n England.—H. B. Wright. —In *Middle-Class Culture in Eliz'n England,* pp. 465-507.
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8807. *S.* (Vol. 4.)—D. Bush, ed.—N. Y.: C. Scribner's Sons, pp. vi, 546, $1. (With introd'n, notes, glossary.)

8808. *S's Principal Plays.* [With introduction and notes.]—C. F. T. Brooke, J. W. Cunliffe, H. N. MacCracken, edd. —N. Y.: D. Appleton-Century Co., ed. 3.

8809. *The 'New' Temple S.*—M. R. Ridley, ed.—Ln: Dent, 2s. each.

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ADDENDA

8811. Art and artifice in the *Iliad;* or the poetical treatment of character in Homer and S.—E. E. Stoll.—ELH, 2: 294-321, Dec.

8812. Elisabeth, la reine sans roi.—A. Pierhal.—Les Annales Politique, Dec. 10, pp. 606-09.

8813. L'opera d'uno scrittore toscano sullo scisma d' Inghilterra ed una lettera della regina Elisabetta.—P. Rebora.—Archivio Storico Italiano, pp. 233-54.

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ADDENDUM SLIP

(To be pasted into the January, 1936, issue of the BULLETIN, *opposite page* 32).

8815. Flyting in S's comedies. M: Galway. SAB, 10:183-91, Oct.

8816. S and Spenser. A Thaler. SAB, 10:19-211, Oct.

8817. Genial literary satire in the forest of Arden. P. V. Kreider. SAB, 10: 212-31, Oct.

8818. Notes on *All's Well.* W. T. Hastings. SAB, 10: 232-44, Oct.

8819. The jealous Othello. S. A. Tannenbaum. SAB, 10: 247, Oct.

8820. Usury and *The Merchant.* S. A. Tannenbaum. SAB, 10: 247, Oct.

8821. A new anthology (*The English Drama, 900-1642*) reviewed. S. A. T. SAB, 10: 249, Oct.

CORRIGENDA

(in the bibliography for 1935, printed in the January, 1936, issue).

Item '7952.' Add (after the 2d line) this: 'Kates, N. Y., pp. 144, many ils.'

Item '7961.' Erroneously numbered '9961.'

Item '8045' (3d line). 'In' should be 'Ln'.

Item '8114' (2d line). 'J' should be 'R'.

Item '8131' (1st line). 'H' should be 'L'. (The same correction should be made in items 8158 (1st line), 8662 (2d line), 8675 (2d line), '8797 (1st line), '8805' 2d line).

Item '8314' should follow '8312' (before 'LIBRARIES).

Item '8387.' Delete the 4th line.

Item '8393.' For 'oeures' read 'oeuvres'.

Item '8434.' Delete the 2d line.

Delete 'Timon of Athens (*Timon*)' between items 8573 and 8574.

Item '8598' (line 3). Delete the final 'e' of 'Baskerville'.

Item '8637' should be 8635 and should end the section headed 'PREDECESSORS'.

Items '8638' and '8639' should be '8636' and '8637'.

Items numbered '8635' and '8636' should be '8638' and '8639'.

Item '8724' is erroneously numbered '8124'.

SHAKSPERE AND SPENSER

By ALWIN THALER

II.

THE *EPITHALAMION*

IN the preceding discussion* I have touched upon at least ten Shaksperian plays,[1] the majority of which may with some reason be said to be significantly related to Spenser, and to *The Faerie Queene* in particular—thus trebling the sum total of two or three plays usually adduced in this connection. In seeking to make my illustrations fairly representative I have admitted some material which may be more analogous than derivative, but my later study of Shakspere and *The Faerie Queene* will show that I have not told half the tale here, for I think it will indicate that there are more or less significant contacts between Spenser and something like two-thirds of Shakspere's plays. And though, because of the difficulties of the evidence, large discounts may be in order, I hope it will be granted that even the limited materials here reviewed have yielded some net gain in demonstrating that the range, if not the depth, of the relationship between Spenser and Shakspere is more substantial than has generally been recognized. The long-continued failure to recognize the significance of this general relationship probably explains, in part, the fact that no one hitherto has comprehensively examined the relationships between Shakspere and Spenser's *Epithalamion,* though sporadic attempts to deal with one aspect or another of this matter have been made by several scholars and critics.

The *Epithalamion,* written, together with the *Amoretti,* by June, 1594, was published in the spring of 1595—five years after the first part of *The Faerie Queene*—when Spenser was in the full glory of his fame. Shakspere was then coming into his own. *Romeo and Juliet* was certainly on the boards by the season of 1596-97,[2] and, together with *A Midsummer-Night's Dream,* may even have appeared by

* See THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN, Oct. 1935, pp. 192-211

1 Chiefly: *As You Like It, Lear, A Midsummer-Night's Dream, The Tempest, Cymbeline, Henry V, Romeo and Juliet, The Winter's Tale, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Macbeth.*

2 Cf. Cambridge Poets' *Shakespeare,* ed. Neilson, p. 834.

the preceding season.[3] That Shakspere looked into his own heart to write these plays is as certain as the fact that he was also turning others' leaves the while—Arthur Brooke's, for example, for *Romeo and Juliet.* On general principles then, if Shakspere read anything, it is difficult to imagine that he could have read Spenser's glorious marriage hymn without being deeply moved thereby—especially while the ecstasy of epithalamic rapture was coursing through his own dreams of the lovers of fair Verona and of Oberon's enchanted wood. Whether his work actually reflects the *Epithalamion* is, of course, another question, though in view of what has gone before in this paper one's expectations might perhaps be not altogether negative.

I must now confess that my own interest in the subject of this essay, far from starting with general principles, began long ago with the suspicion—now grown into something like conviction—that the most famous crux in *Romeo and Juliet,* the "runawayes eyes" passage in Juliet's epithalamium, is best explained by a cognate passage in Spenser's poem. In looking into the books I found that this idea had already occurred independently to at least two earlier students, one of whom, Professor J. W. Hales, defended it forty-three years ago in an able paper.[4] His views, however, have had inadequate notice by later editors,[5] partly, perhaps, because he did not attempt to study the general relationships between Shakspere and Spenser, nor to inquire into the possibility of supporting the case for this particular Spenser-Shakspere contact by looking for additional indications of the *Epithalamion's* influence elsewhere in Shakspere. In pursuing this study and in finding—as I hope to show immediately—such supporting indications, I found also that one of these had occurred independently to so good a critic as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, who, however, makes his particular point casually, with no reference even to the *Romeo and Juliet* passage, and none to our problem in general. I have only to add that in presenting my findings I shall not attempt to explore anew all the vexed mazes of the "runawayes eyes" passage, nor shall I retrace, except in outline, the ground

[3] The median date usually given for both plays is 1595 to 1596. There is no external evidence in the case of either play for a date earlier than 1596.

[4] "Runawayes Eyes," *Longman's Magazine* (February, 1892), XIX, 407-11.

[5] With the exception, however, of Professor R. A. Law (American Arden *Romeo and Juliet,* p. 159).

covered by Hales. Of the likenesses I have to offer, those in *Romeo and Juliet* and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* seem to me most significant, but there are also possibilities in *The Tempest, All's Well,* and, perhaps, in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *The Merchant of Venice.*

Juliet's lines,

> Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,
> That *runawayes' eyes* may wink, and Romeo
> Leap to these arms, untalk'd of and unseen . . . [6]

according to a recent editor[7] still constitute "one of the difficult passages . . . about which it is possible to think almost anything and to prove nothing." The Variorum's twenty-eight pages[8] bear him out, but that, in view of what has gone before, need not deter us from attempting to summarize, first, the facts, and, next, the possibilities as to the relationship between this passage and Spenser.

The basic facts are fairly simple. (1) None of the early editions marks the possessive apostrophe in the word "runawayes." (2) Scholars disagree as to whether the word is singular or plural. (3) Many of the emendations suggested (they run the gamut from "runagates" and "unawares" to "sunny days" and "Luna's") are more or less lunatic, and scarcely any has been accepted by anybody other than its proponent. (4) Many scholars, not attracted by the more ingenious interpretations of "runawayes" (in the sense of the sun, Cupid, night, the stars, etc.) have taken it in the more obvious sense suggested by Shakspere's coupling of "vagabonds, rascals, and runaways" in *Richard III,* V, iii, 316, and here supported by Juliet's explanatory phrase, "untalked of and unseen"; i. e., by prying eyes. Thus "runawayes' eyes" are those, as Hales suggests, of "some spying busybody . . . some impertinent . . . tale-telling lounger . . . some scandal-mongering Montagu . . . who, if the night were clear," might see, and perhaps blab. In support of this reading Hales quotes similar phrases ranging all the way from Musaeus and Henryson[9] to Keats's *Eve of St. Agnes,*

[6] III, ii, 5-7.
[7] W. H. Durham, Yale Shakespeare, *R. & J.,* p. 126.
[8] Furness, *R. & J.,* pp. 367-95.
[9] *Robin and Makyne,* in which Robin invites his love to
The green wod richt neir hand. . .
There may nae Janglers us espy.

in which Angela is "aghast From fright of dim espial." To these I shall add one illustration not hitherto noted, though I think it is closer in time and application to Juliet's lines than most that have been cited—Bethsabe's song at the opening of Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (*c.* 1594, first extant edition, 1599):

> Black shade, fair nurse, shroud me and please me . . .
> Make not my glad cause cause of my mourning:
> Let not my beauty's fire
> Inflame unstaid desire,
> *Nor pierce any bright eye*
> *That wandereth lightly.*

As regards the possibilities with reference to Spenser, I mention first Halpin's suggestion (1845)[10] that, in writing Juliet's epithalamium, Shakspere may have "unconsciously borrowed from the conventional vocabulary" of epithalamic literature. I quote, next, from Hales' statement of the case for Spenser's *Epithalamion*. "The resemblance," between Juliet's lines[11] and Spenser's, "is surely striking. These are Spenser's lines—he, like Juliet, is apostrophizing Night:

> Spread thy broad wing over my love and me
> *That no man may us see,*
> And in thy sable mantle us enwrap,
> From fear of peril and foul horror free.[12]

'That no man may us see' seems exactly to equate 'that runawayes' eyes may wink.' " If there was any borrowing here, it could not have been Spenser's—a possibility which Hales does not dismiss—since Spenser wrote in 1594, and could not have seen *Romeo and Juliet* until he visited London in 1596, nor read it till it was first printed in 1597. The possibility that Shakspere remembered Spenser may gain some modicum of support from other similarities in phrasing in the immediate context of the two passages in question—witness night's "sable mantle" in Spenser, the "black mantle" of Juliet's night, together with Spenser's earlier

> *Haste thee,* O fayrest planet, to thy home
> Within the westerne fome:
> Thy tyred *steedes* long since have need of rest,[13]

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[10] *Shakspere Soc. Papers,* II, 14.
[11] See above, n. 6.
[12] Lines 319-322.
[13] Lines 282-84.

and Juliet's, *"Gallop* apace, ye fiery-footed *steeds"*. Granting that these phrases—like Spenser's "gentle sleep" and Shakspere's—[14] were not unknown to other poets, their joint appearance here is at least an interesting coincidence. Nor do I think it altogether fantastic to call attention to another great passage in the *Epithalamion,* which at least in the superficial turn of phrase seems to bear a passing resemblance to something uttered by Juliet's nurse under not dissimilar circumstances. "Behold," writes Spenser,

> Whiles she before the altar stands,
> Hearing the *holy priest* that to her speakes,
> And *blesseth her* with his two happy hands,
> *How the red roses flush up in her cheekes . . .*
> Like crimson dyde in graine.[15]

It is an unforgettable picture. Is it not just possible that Shakspere had not quite forgotten it when the Nurse, at long last, gives her welcome news to Juliet?

> Then hie you hence to Friar Lawrence' cell;
> *There stays a husband to make you a wife.*
> *Now comes the wanton blood up in your cheeks,*
> They'll be in scarlet straight at any news.[16]

This is *not* pure Spenser, and neither—to risk a *reductio ad absurdum* by recalling Spenser's holy priest blessing his bride—is the sequence of Enobarbus' speech concerning that wonderful piece of work, every conqueror's bride, Cleopatra—in whose strong toil of grace vilest things so become themselves that even

> . . . the *holy priests*
> *Bless her*[17]

when she is most wanton. I have said that this is not pure Spenser. And yet, by curious accident, if not by the curious transference of a well-remembered phrase, the voice, so far as it goes, is, almost literally, Spenser's voice, though the hand is the hand of Shakspere. And it is not inconceivable that hand and voice may have worked together once more, without either losing its birthright. For, a year or two after Spenser had sung the *"pretty stealths* . . . that none reproves" of lovers "conceal'd through covert *night,"*[18] Lorenzo's pretty

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[14] *Epith.,* 337; *II Henry IV,* III, i, 5.
[15] *Epith.,* 223-28.
[16] *R. & J.,* II, v, 70-73.
[17] *Antony and Cleopatra,* II, ii, 243-45; cf. n. 15.
[18] *Epith.,* 360-63.

Jessica breathed her little runaway epithalamium into the Venetian night:

> I am glad 'tis *night* . . . and lovers cannot see
> The *pretty follies* that themselves commit.[19]

If I should now be told that one or two of these likenesses are themselves, at best or worst, pretty follies and more tantalizing than satisfying, I hasten to reply that I have but three to add to the list; and these, I hope, may prove to be not altogether fool.

Thus, it is a familiar fact that the outstanding characteristic with which—"in identical persistent phrases"—[20] Spenser invests his bride as heroine of the *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion,* is her "proud humility":

> Behold, how goodly my faire love does ly
> In *proud humility.*[21]

So far as I can learn, however, no one has ever mentioned the fact—worth noting, I think, even if it is pure accident—that this quality, couched in the identically persistent phrase, is the essential trait of another heroine, whom Coleridge thought "the loveliest of Shakspere's heroines." It is the very being of Helena of *All's Well*—who describes herself as Bertram's

> *proud humility* . . .
> His faith, his sweet disaster,

and of her foster-father, who, according to the King, made even the lowliest

> *proud* of his *humility*
> In their poor praise he humbled.[22]

Next, I turn to that

> *Great Juno,* which, with awful might
> the laws of wedlock still do[es] patronize,[23]

whose masque-like entry Spenser invokes toward the end of his poem, so that she and other favorable deities may all their "blessings unto us impart" and

> The bridal bowre and genial bed remaine
> Without blemish or staine.[24]

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[19] *Merchant* (*ca.* 1596), II, vi, 36-37.
[20] Cory, *op. cit.,* p. 248.
[21] *Epith.,* 305-6; cf. *Amoretti,* 13, 5, 33, 81, etc.
[22] *All's Well,* I, i, 185-87; ii, 44-45.
[23] *Epith.,* 390-91.
[24] *Id.,* 399-400.

I do so to raise a question. Is it not the same "Great Juno" —identical in function as in invocation—who reappears in the wedding masque of *The Tempest*: the "majestic vision" which Prospero conjures up to give Ferdinand and Miranda "some vanity" of his art? There

> *Great Juno comes . . .*
> *To bless* this twain, that they may prosperous be
> And honour'd in their issue . . .
> Honour, riches, marriage-blessing![25]

Another likeness of this kind, finally, connects still another passage in the *Epithalamion* with that fairy epithalamium of Shakspere which elsewhere honors Spenser's "thrice three muses."[26] Shakspere, too, as he reminds us early in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,*[27] "serve[d] the fairy queen." What then could be more natural in this fairy play than a graceful closing tribute not, as in *As You Like It,* to a "dead shepherd" but to a living poet, his famous companion in that service? Quiller-Couch,[28] I find, had no doubt of the answer, though he touches upon the matter quite without reference to anything else discussed in this paper. I shall put together, somewhat as Quiller-Couch does, some excerpts from the closing stanzas of the *Epithalamion,* and certain portions of the closing songs of the play:

Epithalamion, 334-415:

Let no *lamenting cries* nor dolefull teares
Be heard all night within nor yet without . . .
Let no *deluding dreames* nor *dreadful sights*
Make sudden sad affrights . . .
Ne let the *Pouke* . . .
Ne let hob goblins, names whose sense we see not,
Fray us with things that be not.
Let not the *shriech oule* nor the storke be heard . . .

A Midsummer-Night's Dream, V, 1, 378-425:

[Here Puck himself exorcises the same apparitions:]

Now the hungry lion *roars*
And the wolf *behowls* the moon . . .
Whilst the *screech-owl* screeching loud
Puts *the wretch that lies in woe*
In remembrance of a shroud.
Now it is the time of night
That the *graves,* all gaping wide,

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[25] *Tempest,* IV, i, 102-06.

[26] (See I, n. 4, above.) Probably also, as Halliwell thought, by imitating Spenser's "Through hils and dales, through bushes and through breres" (*FQ,* VI, viii, 32), in this play (II, i, 2): "Over hill, over dale, Thorough bush, thorough brier,"—though others think the lines "too commonplace to make imitation certain" (*A M.-N.D.,* American Arden ed., p. 97).

[27] II, i, 8.

[28] *Shakespeare's Workmanship,* pp. 68ff.

Nor *damnëd ghosts* cald up with mighty spels . . .
But let stil *Silence* trew night watches keepe,
That *sacred Peace* may in assurance rayne . . .
The whiles an hundred little wingëd loves,
Like divers feathered doves,
Shall fly and flutter round about *our bed* . . .
Cinthia . . .
O fayrest goddesse . . . to us be favorable now . . .
And the chast wombe informe with *timely seed*
That may our comfort breed . . .
And ye high heavens, the temple of the gods . . .
Poure out your *blessing* on us plentiously.

Every one lets forth his *sprite*.
[Cynthia's servants, the
"fairies that do run
By the triple Hecate's team,"
safeguard the lovers:]
Not a mouse
Shall disturb this *hallow'd* house . .
Hand in hand, with fairy grace,
Will we sing and *bless* this place.
Now, until the break of day . . .
To the best *bride-bed* will we,
Which by us shall *blessëd* be;
And the *issue* there create
Ever shall be fortunate . . .
Every fairy take his gait,
And each several chamber *bless*,
Through this palace with *sweet peace*.

"Can anyone," says "Quiller-Couch, "set these two passages[29] together and doubt *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* to be intended for a . . . pretty purgation of those same goblin terrors which Spenser would exorcise from the bridal chamber?" And, I would add, did not Shakspere also achieve a pretty reiteration of Spenser's bridal blessing? These things cannot be proved, but I am disposed to agree with Quiller-Couch's last word on the subject: "For my part I make little doubt that Shakspere had Spenser's very words in mind as he wrote."[30]

[29] He refers to the first half of the material quoted above.

[30] While this essay was in press, Dr. Tannenbaum kindly called to my attention Mr. Morton Luce's recent volume, *Man and Nature* (London, 1935). Chapter V (pp. 57-77) deals with "Spenser and Shakespeare." Readers will observe that Mr. Luce and I worked altogether independently and that our findings do not overlap, though each study in some measure supports the other. Unquestionably this subject is large enough to claim attention from more pens than one.

University of Tennessee.

FAREWELL TO *'VLLORXA'*.

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

SHAKSPERIAN scholars seem to be fairly well agreed that the most tantalizing and seemingly hopeless textual crux in the Stratfordian's dramatic works is the word —if it be a word—*'Vllorxa'* in *Timon of Athens*, III, iv, 112. This crux has apparently proved so baffling that some of even the most venturesome and some of the most foolish emendators have refrained from attempting to solve it. But it must not therefore be supposed that such conjectural corrections as have been proposed have all been sensible. On the contrary, one or two have been no less far-fetched and ridiculous than is much of the Shaksperian commentary which is nowadays pouring from the presses at an almost incredible rate.

In the Folio of 1623, the oldest text of *Timon* that we know of, the passage containing the disputed reading is printed as follows:

> *Tim.* . . . Go, bid all my Friends againe,
> *Lucius, Lucullus,* and *Sempronius Vllorxa*: All,
> Ile once more feast the Rascals.

It may not be amiss to remind the reader that the infuriated Timon says this to his grieved steward (Flavius) after his parasitic friends had refused to lend him certain sums of gold with which to shut the mouths of his yelping creditors.

The second of the above verses (line 112) is obviously faulty; it has seven 'iambic' measures, 'Sempronius Ullorxa' is an impossible name, either for a Roman or a Greek, and there is no 'Ullorxa' among the *dramatis personae* of the play. The editor of the Second Folio, who evidently perceived the difficulty, cured the line by omitting the puzzling *'Vllorxa'* (but for some inexplicable reason, although it may be only a misprint, altered 'and' before 'Semprovius' [*sic*] to 'add'. Almost all succeeding editors, foreign and English, have followed the example of the Second Folio. But, needless to say, this does not explain either how the error—if error it be—arose or what Shakspere meant to write. Obviously, the First Folio text is the result either of a mishearing

by the compositor or—much more probably, nay, almost positively—from a misreading of the 'copy'.

Of modern editors Edmond Malone is one of the few who retained the Folio's 'Vllorxa' in his text, but when one notes that he printed 'Ullorxa all' (without a comma after 'Ullorxa' and a colon after 'all') one is at a loss to know what he thought it meant. No wonder that the waspish George Steevens, in venting his wrath on the faithful and devoted champion of the First Folio, even went so far as to say that he (G. S.) was 'content to leave this gem [*Vllorxa*] on the stercoraceous spot [*i.e.,* in Folio One] where it was discovered.' Halliwell-Phillipps retained the meaningless Folio reading, mainly, it seems, on the authority of Collier who retained it 'because it does not in any way affect the sense.'

John P. Collier, a clever emendator, thought that the compositor mistook the words 'all, look sir' for *'Vllorxa,'* or that *'Vllorxa'* is a distortion of an exclamation ('Alack, sir!') by Flavius, but he made no attempt to explain how the error arose. Delius, like Collier, thought *'Vllorxa'* a distortion of an exclamation ('O, my lord!') by Flavius. Richard Grant White suggested replacing 'Vllorxa' with 'Ventidius'; Thomas Keightley confidently proposed reading 'all on 'em' instead of 'Vllorxa'; the Globe editors suggested 'All, sirrah,' as a substitute; F. G. Fleay favored 'all luxors' (a word nowhere used by Shakspere); Howard Staunton 'All rogues'; Joicey 'villains'; Mr. H. Cuningham, a chronic but unconvincing emendator, advocated 'All lords, ay'; the late Dr. C. R. Haines suggested 'Ile ask all', and he cited another scholar's suggestion to read 'all hawks'. Mr. B. G. Kinnear thought that *'Vllorxa'* was the result of the accidental retention by the compositor of the words 'I'll once' which had not been adequately deleted. The late Professor Leon Kellner, in his customary shocking and arbitrary manner, proposed to substitute 'etcetra' [*sic*] for *'Vllorxa'* and to alter 'Lucullus' and 'Sempronius' to 'Luculle' and 'Semprone'. But undoubtedly the palm for absurdity in the attempts to reform the line must be divided between F. A. Leo and Professor H. Littledale. The former thought *'Vllorxa'* the result of an erroneous inclusion into the text of an irrelevant

marginal note reading 'vii or x a' (*i.e.*, '7 or 10 angels'); Professor Littledale, on the other hand, was confident that *'Vllorxa'* was a misreading of Shakspere's 'vii or x or' (*i.e.*, '7 or 10 other'); he subsequently was willing to give this up for 'seven or ten in all' or for 'seven—or ten—or'. Merely to complete the record it should be mentioned that the Misses Porter and Clarke, in their valuable First Folio Shakespeare, express the opinion that *'Vllorxa'* is 'probably printers' "pie" for a minor name.'

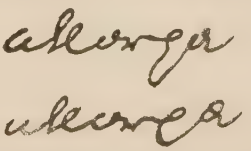
For fairly obvious reasons none of the above emendations, except that of the Second Folio, has found acceptance with Shaksperian scholars or editors. Most of the suggested readings, especially those which would convert *'Vllorxa'* into a speech by Flavius, are such violent departures from the original as cannot be justified by the principles of sound textual criticism. Scholars today are pretty well convinced that textual errors in Shakspere's plays which were not taken down during performance in a theatre resulted from difficulties in reading the poet's or a copyist's manuscript. An emendation must therefore, like Leo's or Littledale's, be based not on the sound of the incorrect reading but on the appearance of the word or words when written in the secretary script, the script almost invariably employed (except for proper names and quotations from foreign languages) by dramatists and scribes of the Elizabethan era. Not one of the suggested emendations accounts for all the letters in *'Vllorxa'*. One of Professor Littledale's three alternative readings is free from this objection, but 'vii—or x—or' is psychologically too improbable for acceptance, besides being open to the objection that it ignores the Folio's colon after *'Vllorxa'*. There is no reason why Timon should have said 'seven or ten' rather than 'five or eleven' or any other specific number. And there is not the slightest likelihood that Shakspere would have employed Roman numerals if he had wished to write 'seven or ten'.

The obvious emendation, as the editor of the 1632 Folio saw, is, of course, to omit the objectionable *'Vllorxa'* from the list of expected guests, but conscientious and scholarly editors, like conscientious surgeons, resort to amputation only as a last resort.

Guided by the principles expressed and implied in the foregoing comments, I subjected this vexatious crux to a renewed examination, writing it in as many styles of the secretary script as I could. After many attempts the correct reading—for I have no doubt that this is the reading Shakspere intended—stared me in the face and I read

> Go bid all my friends again,—
> Lucius, Lucullus, and Sempronius,—all—or—ha, all!

Paleographically the substitution of *'Vllorxa'* for 'all or ha' is one of the easiest and most likely misreadings. Both upper case and lower case *a* are often mistaken for *u* (*v*), and *h* is often indistinguishable from *x*. It may be recalled that several of my predecessors had suggested 'all 'for the first three letters of *'Vllorxa'*. Psychologically this new emendation may be defended thus: Timon had been refused a loan by the three false friends named in line 112 (Lucius, Lucullus, and Sempronius); the thought of being revenged on them by publicly branding them as flatterers and parasites occurs to him, and he asks Flavius once again to invite the 'knaves' to a feast; fearing that the steward may mistake his intention—because he had used the word 'friends,'—he specifically names Lucius, Lucullus, and Sempronius; he follows this up with 'all', that is, 'not merely these three' but 'all'; but then, we may assume, it occurs to him that it might not be the humane thing to include *all* his acquaintances, even those of whom he had not made trial, and he is about to say 'or perhaps you had better invite only such and such'; suddenly changing his mind again, he says 'ha, all!'.



Two possible objections to the new reading occur to me: (1) the verse is too long; (2) the fact that the word *'Vllorxa'* is printed in italics in the Folio and begins with a majuscular letter proves it to be a proper name. In reply to the first objection it may be pointed out that if the words 'all—or—ha! all!' be transferred to the following line they will complete a verse which is now short of two feet. It should also be noted that mislining is of frequent occurrence in this scene, probably the result of alterations after compo-

sition. The speech of Flavius which follows line 112 is printed as prose in the Folio. As to objection number 2 it is sufficient to say that if the compositor could not decipher the words correctly and thought them a proper name, he would, as a matter of course, have set the name up in italics, and he would have set it up with an upper case initial even though in his copy names would, in accordance with the habits of most Elizabethan writers, have been written with a minuscular initial.

In connection with this the reader may not object to be reminded of a similar textual error in *Coriolanus* (ed. Furness, I, iii, 46) in which the word 'contemning' (probably written with a majuscular initial) is misprinted in italics and as a proper name: *'Contenning'*.

It seems to me, therefore, that we may confidently, but perhaps regretfully, bid farewell to *Vllorxa*.

A REAL 'COMPANION'

A book which we wish to recommend to every Shakspere scholar in the land, a book of which American scholarship should justly be proud, is Princeton University's *Essays in Dramatic Literature: The Parrott Presentation Volume, by Pupils of Professor Thomas Marc Parrott*, edited by Dr. Hardin Craig (pp. viii, 470; $5.) This is a real 'Companion' to Shakspere studies, written by scholars devoted to the discovery of truth and trained in objective, scientific methods of research; it is not a premature, half-baked and hasty outpouring of ill-considered, far-fetched, fantastic and, for the most part, preposterous utterances on matters Shaksperian, such as certain recent publications on Shakspere's imagery (by C. F. Spurgeon) and on *Hamlet* (by J. D. Wilson).

Here we have—mentioning only the items of Shaksperian interest—Professor Craig's essay on 'Ethics in the Jacobean drama: the case of Chapman;' an important essay on 'Shakspere's use of Pliny' by Dr. T. W. Baldwin; an essay by Dr. C. W. Kennedy on 'Political theory in the plays of Chapman;' three essays on *Hamlet*, by Drs. H. Cummings, T. B. Hunt, and J. E. Baker, respectively; an essay on Tourneur by Dr. L. Lockert; 'Shakspere's portrayal of Shylock', by Dr. H. B. Walley; a study of 'the verse lining of the first quarto of *King Lear*,' by Edward Hubler; a study of the influence of Shakspere on Smollett, by Dr. G. M. Kahrl; besides a number of other interesting and important contributions. This volume presents us with nothing that is sensational (and correspondingly suspect and only too likely to prove in digestion sour) but much that is of lasting value.

ON THE DATING OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS

By ROBERT ADGER LAW

WHEN did Shakspere begin to write his plays? What date of composition is to be assigned to each one in order that we may determine how the dramatist developed in his art? Both these questions are still variously answered by his editors and biographers, though scholars today are more nearly agreed as to the order of composition than were those of fifty years ago.

The subjoined list indicates differences of opinion expressed in the past dozen years by Joseph Quincy Adams, Raymond M. Alden, Sir Edmund K. Chambers, Hardin Craig, Oscar J. Campbell, Thomas M. Parrott, and Tucker Brooke in assigning dates to all the plays.[1]

The reader will note that in many cases scholars assume revision of a drama after its first writing, and in other cases they assign more than one possible date for a play's original composition. Indeed, certain editors seem to contradict in one part of their work statements as to date made in another part. Effort has been made, however, to present a correct table.

Pronounced differences of opinion have risen concerning the dates of ten plays in particular: the three parts of *Henry VI, Love's Labour's Lost, The Comedy of Errors, A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Taming of the Shrew, The Merry Wives of Windsor, All's Well That Ends Well,* and *King Lear.* Some comment on the problems presented by each play may be in order.

The stage-history of *Second* and *Third 'Henry VI'* is

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[1] Adams, Joseph Quincy, *A Life of William Shakespeare,* Boston, 1923.
Alden, Raymond Macdonald, *A Shakespeare Handbook,* New York, 1925.
Chambers, Edmund K., *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems,* Oxford, 1930.
Craig, Hardin, *Shakespeare: A Historical and Critical Study,* Chicago, 1931.
Campbell, Oscar James, Revised and enlarged edition of Alden's *A Shakespeare Handbook,* New York, 1932.
Parrott, Thomas Marc, *William Shakespeare: A Handbook,* New York, 1934.
Brooke, Tucker, Cunliffe, J. W., and MacCracken, H. N., *Shakespeare's Principal Plays, Third Edition,* New York, 1935. (Practically unchanged from the list that appeared in Brooke's *Shakespeare of Stratford,* New Haven, 1926.)

complicated by the existence of two other texts, largely identical with those given in the Folio as Shakspere's, and known generally as *The Contention Between York and Lancaster.* That *3 Henry VI* was existing by 1592 and was then believed to belong to Shakspere is indicated by Greene's quotation of a line from the play in his attack on Shakspere in that year. But whether the two *Contention* plays formed sources for Shakspere, whether they are corrupt "reported" versions of what he wrote, or, again, whether all the plays are descended from other texts now lost, are questions still hotly discussed. Peter Alexander is the chief proponent of the "reported text" theory, but his argument is now meeting sharp attacks in certain quarters. Full truth is hard to establish, but these two *Henry VI* plays may well have been Shakspere's first dramatic ventures.

By general agreement *1 Henry VI* comes later than the other two Parts, but how much later is problematical. Chambers suggests its identity with "Harey the vj" acted for Henslowe on March 3, 1592. Brooke dates it as late as 1599, believing that in that year Shakspere revised the work of Peele or some other author to connect the two other Parts with his *Henry V.* My own inclination is to follow Chambers here.

Love's Labour's Lost was first published in 1598, with the statement on its title-page that it had been performed before the Queen "this last Christmas," and that it was "newly corrected and augmented," implying revision of an older play in 1597. From its notable weakness in structure, its "wooden" characters, and its euphistic style, with numerous puns and much experimentation in verse, this comedy is placed quite early, being claimed by some to be earlier even than the *Henry VI* plays in its original form. Possible allusions to one or another event in contemporary European politics have been variously interpreted so as to fix the date from 1588 to 1595. Taylor's recently proposed date of 1596 for its original composition[2] has not found wide acceptance. Personally, I would date the play near 1590.

[2] Taylor, Rupert, *The Date of "Love's Labour's Lost"*, New York, 1932.

The Comedy of Errors, though first printed in the Folio of 1623, is known to have been acted at Gray's Inn December 28, 1594. Its probable source is the Latin of Plautus's *Menaechmi,* and not an English translation of that play by William Warner, entered in 1594. Adams guesses that Shakspere wrote the *Errors* as a young schoolmaster and took it to London with him before his connection with any company of actors. Such a pleasing fancy is weakened by the skillful craftsmanship exhibited both in structure and in characterization. In its present form the comedy must be later than *Love's Labour's Lost,* though fairly close to it. Baldwin dates the *Errors* "about the Christmas of 1589."[3]

Whether *A Midsummer Night's Dream* preceded or followed *Romeo and Juliet* is not universally agreed. Both in verse and in stage technique the *Dream* seems to represent earlier work, though this may conceivably be the result of revision of the *Romeo* about 1597. Chambers thinks that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was written to celebrate a courtly wedding in 1595 or 1596. My personal judgment is that *Romeo and Juliet* is the later play.

Dating of *The Taming of the Shrew* depends to some extent on its relation to *The Taming of a Shrew,* published in 1594, acted probably several years earlier. Most scholars believe *A Shrew* to be the source of *The Shrew* though some account it as another "reported" version of Shakspere. In his famous list of Shakspere's works in 1598 Meres mentions neither play, unless *Love's Labour's Won* is taken as another name for the farce. Editors today generally attribute to Shakspere only the Induction and the scenes dealing with Petruchio in *The Shrew.* The style of these lines suggests early work and a date near 1595.

The Merry Wives of Windsor was entered in the Stationers' Register and published in 1602, and is without previous mention by Meres. Traditionally recorded as written at the express desire of Queen Elizabeth to see Falstaff in love, it must have followed the *Henry IV* plays and perhaps *Henry V,* usually dated in the summer of 1599.

[3] See Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakespeare Adapts a Hanging,* Princeton, 1931, p. 11.

Hotson's effort to identify Justice Shallow with Justice Gardiner and so date the play in 1596 has not met with favor.[4] A date of 1600 for the *Merry Wives* would not be far astray.

Opinions concerning the date of *All's Well* differ more widely than those about any other Shakspere drama. Published first in 1623, without record of earlier acting, it is accepted by some as the *Love's Labour's Won* on Meres' list, and by nearly all its editors as a revised play. One group finds internal evidence of its original writing about 1596 and its revision some five years later. Another group, with apparently sounder reason, dates the first composition about 1601 and sets the revision several years afterwards. Among the latter group is Professor John L. Lowes, who has promised an early setting forth of his position.

Dates assigned to *King Lear* range within a narrower circle, from early 1605 to late 1606, when it was acted before King James. The anonymous play of *King Leir,* its chief source, probably written about 1590, was re-entered for publication on May 8, 1605, and was printed the same year. Whether this publication preceded or followed the acting of Shakspere's play critics disagree. Some see in one line of the play specific reference to eclipses of November, 1605. Yet the title-page on the 1608 Quarto of Shakspere's play seems to stress the genuineness of its text as opposed to the spurious article of 1605 vintage. For this and other reasons I would date the *Lear* early in 1605, a little before the reprinting of the anonymous *Leir.*

Serious as these differences of judgment may appear to be, the wonder is that they are not greater. Practically all the plays after 1600, with the single exception of *All's Well,* are ranked in one order by all competent scholars. Earlier plays are not so easily listed, but the range of uncertainty grows narrower as years pass.

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[4] See Hotson, J. L., *Shakespeare vs. Shallow,* Boston, 1931.

TABULATION OF DATES GIVEN FOR PLAYS

PLAYS	ADAMS (1923)	ALDEN (1925)	CHAMBERS (1930)	CRAIG (1932)	CAMPBELL (1932)	PARROTT (1934)	BROOKE (1935)
2 Henry VI	1592	1590-2	1591	1591-2	1590-1	1592	1592
3 Henry VI	1592		1591	1591-2	1590-1	1592	1592
1 Henry VI	1594-5; 1598-9		1592	1591-2; 1599	1591-2	1592; 1598	1599; (1592)*
Love's L. L.	1592	1590-1; 1597-8	1595	1589; 1597	1591; 1597-8	1593; 1597	1590
Com. of Er.	1598-9; 1594	1590-1	1592-3	1589; 1593	1589-92	1590	1588-94
Two Gent. V.	1593-4	1591-2	1594-5	1590; 1593?	1592	1591	1591
Richard III	1595	1592-3	1592-3	1593	1593	1594	1594
King John	1595	1592-3	1596-7	1595	1594	1596	1596-7
Titus And.	1593	1593-4	1593-4	1593; 1594	1589-94	1593	1593
Mids. N. D.	1596	1593-5	1595-6	1590-1; 1594	1595	1595	1594
Rom. and J.	1593-4; 1596	1594-7	1595	1591; 1598	1596	1596	1595
Richard II	1595	1594-5	1595	1595-6	1595	1594	1595
Merch. of V.	1597	1594-6	1596	1594-5	1596	1596	1596
Taming of S.	1597	1596-7	1594	1594; 1596	1593-4	1598	1596
1 Henry IV	1597	1597-8	1597	1596	1597-8	1597	1597
2 Henry IV	1597-8	1597-8	1597-8	1597		1597	1598
Merry Wives	1597-8	1598-9	1600-1	1599; 1603	1598-9	1599	1600

*A pre-Shaksperian play.

TABULATION OF DATES GIVEN FOR PLAYS

PLAYS	ADAMS (1923)	ALDEN (1925)	CHAMBERS (1930)	CRAIG (1932)	CAMPBELL (1932)	PARROTT (1934)	BROOKE (1935)
Henry V	1598	1599	1599	1599	1599	1599	1599
Much Ado	1599	1599	1598-9	1598	1599	1598	1600
As You Like It	1599	1599-1600	1599	1600	1600	1600	1600
Julius Caes.	1599	1599-1600	1599	1599	1599-1600	1599	1599
Twelfth N.	1599	1601	1599-1600	1600-2	1601	1699	1601
Troilus & C.	1602	1601-2	1601-2	1601-3	1601-2	1602	1602
Hamlet	1601	1602-4	1600-1	1601-2	1602-3	1600	1601
All's Well	1600-1	1602-4	1602-3	1602; 1607	1602	1602-3	1596; 1606
Meas. f. M.	1602-4	1603	1604	1603-4	1603	1604	1603
Othello	1604	1604	1604	1604	1604	1604	1604
King Lear	1605	1605-6	1605	1605-6	1605-6	1605-6	1605
Macbeth	1602	1606	1606	1605-6	1606	1606	1606
Ant. & Cleop.	1607	1607-8	1607	1606	1607-8	1606-7	1607
Timon of A.	1607	1607-8	1608	1605; 1607	1607	1606	1607
Pericles	1607	1607-8	1608-9	1607	1607-8	1607-8	1606-8
Coriolanus	1608-9	1609	1608	1606; 1608	1609	1608-9	1608-9
Cymbeline	1609-10	1610	1609-10	1609-10	1610	1609-10	1610
Wint. Tale	1610-1	1611	1611	1610-1	1611	1611	1610-1
Tempest	1611	1611	1611	1611	1611	1611	1611
Henry VIII	1613	161	1613	1612-3	1612	1613	1613
Two N. Kins.	1613	.....	1613	.....	1612-3	1613	.....

University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

SOMETHING SHAKSPERE LEFT OUT

By MARY DEATON

TO say that Shakspere the dramatist was limited as to choice of scenes to develop and characters to delineate, whereas Shakspere as a novelist would have been less circumscribed by literary form is to elaborate the obvious. But aside from this obvious fact that the dramatic form implies omission of scenes which some other literary vehicle would easily carry, why did Shakspere omit some scenes which, though not *scenes à faire,* are yet those which we should like to see and which might have been depicted on the stage?

Was it a matter of dramatic unity or economy of time that determined his selection of what should happen on stage and what should occur off-stage? This question does not refer to lost scenes, missing scenes, so-called, such as the three from *Macbeth* which Professor J. Q. Adams insists have been lost.[1] There are still others on which we speculate. Some reasons may be assigned for the scamping of some of these scenes, but not always for all of them. It is commonplace to say that some would have been too revolting even for an Elizabethan audience, because of their bloody nature, or because they violated a certain sense of fitness. Others are simply more vivid in description, in retrospect sometimes, than in dramatization. Stage facilities naturally had to be considered, but possibly not so much as we are accustomed to think.

One of the foremost reasons seems to be that, although the purpose of playing may be to hold the mirror up to nature, William Shakspere often wanted the audience to see not with its own eyes, but with his. Because seeing is believing, he does not let us see. The audience is the jury and judge and he is the witness, or rather he often presents his testimony through a witness who will prejudice us as he wishes.

No technical stage difficulties prevented the playwright from putting before the audience the scene in which Caesar

[1] *Macbeth,* ed. J. Q. Adams (1931), p. 253.

refused the crown. Furthermore, no economy of time was absolutely necessary. One scene more or less would not have made *Julius Caesar* tedious, or if so, some later scene might have been spared in favor of this one. Here the witness is Casca, whom Brutus addresses as *gentle* Casca, but who describes the scene, as Cassius said he would, in his *sour fashion.* And to some extent we, in spite of ourselves, think of Caesar and the mob of citizens as Casca thought of them, but we do not with our own eyes see Caesar fall down in the market place and foam at the mouth, because too early in the play we might form a mean opinion of Caesar, or fail to see him as a ruler whose ambitions Brutus must mistrust.

Later in the same play (Act III, sc. ii) a servant says to Antony, "Brutus and Cassius are rid like madmen through the gates of Rome." There is no heightening of this story for effect as there is in that of the flight of Cleopatra and her ships and Antony's subsequent flight with his. (*Antony and Cleopatra,* Act III, sc. x.) In fact, a casual reader of the play may hardly be aware of this reference to the conspirators, coming as it does just after Antony's exciting of the mob. (*Julius Caesar,* Act III, sc. ii.) For we, seeing Brutus and Cassius fleeing "like madmen", would lose our respect for them, see them in a too ridiculous light, while they are still men to be dealt with in the episodes that ensue. Furthermore such a scene would tend to hasten the falling action and destroy the suspense which is still necessary.

In *Antony and Cleopatra* the disgraceful flight, being on sea, could not be shown on the stage. But had its staging been possible however, it still might have been omitted. Scarus, like Casca, has a way of coloring our feelings about the flight. An audience might not be particularly impressed by the disgrace of the flight of an overmatched fleet and one led by a woman at that, but Scarus, at the same time that he is reflecting the opinion of Antony's followers, arouses our contempt by his narrative:

> Yon ribaudred nag of Egypt—
> Whom leprosy o'ertake—i' th' midst o' th' flight,
> When vantage like a pair of twins appear'd,
> Both as the same, or rather ours the elder,—
> The brieze upon her, like a cow in June!—
> Hoists sail and flies.

As a banquet on stage is a difficult matter at best it is obvious that Enobarbus' descriptions of the feasts at which "we had much more monstrous matter of feast" than a mere "eight wild-boars roasted whole at a breakfast, and but twelve persons there" are more effective than actual scenes.

We should like to see Antony and Cleopatra as gypsies wander all alone "through the streets and note the qualities of people", but this is not a story made for us to watch this noble pair revel in their love; rather it is that part of their story where they are plunged into a struggle which is to determine whether Antony is to reëmerge a fighter whose "captain's heart, which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst the buckles on his breast", or merely to remain "the bellows and the fan to cool a gypsy's lust", "the triple pillar of the world transformed into a strumpet's fool". Such scenes belong to another story.

Concerning death scenes more questions arise. What governs whether or not a death or murder is shown on stage, or is described by an eyewitness or from hearsay?

Duncan was killed off stage. "Macbeth, with so little reason, cannot be permitted to kill before our eyes an old man, his sovereign, his guest, his greatest benefactor".[2] Sympathy for Macbeth must not be destroyed so early in the drama and perhaps an air of mystery must be created.

In *Richard III* Clarence is murdered before our very eyes, but a vivid descriptive narrative informs us of the assassination of the two princes. To all intents the audience knows exactly what happened to the two, but actually Shakspere deferred to the lack of historical evidence and gave the story second hand, as it were. Moreover, it would be too much, say the critics, to ask an audience to look on at such a dastardly performance, although young Arthur in *King John* is mentally tortured in a scene which harrows the feelings more than sudden murder, and is then led to leap to his death before our eyes.

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[2] Stoll, *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare*, p. 83.

To enhance the mad ruthlessness of Macbeth in his oath that he will

> "give to the sword
> [Macduff's] wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls
> That trace him in his line"

Macduff's young son is stabbed, although his mother is not killed on the stage. Of Lady Macbeth we hear that she "as 'tis thought, by self and violent hands took off her life." But the death that comes to her is less than her terrible dreams which we know, for her's had been a life so full of sound and fury that her death signified nothing. In *King Lear* Shakspere had the bodies of both Goneril and Regan brought forth to the stage for our delectation. Had it been too much trouble to work out a scene showing us the murder and suicide which grieved us not at all? In *Hamlet* the audience is witness to the deaths of the just and the unjust. Perhaps we had already been asked to believe almost too much in the inhuman natures of these two "monsters,—not daughters", so that one more such scene might convince us of their unreality.

The comedies and romances do not afford so many questions, but a few may be cited. For example, there is the meeting between father and daughter in *The Winter's Tale.* "The dignity of this act", says one of its witnesses, "was worth the audience of kings and princes; for by such was it acted." Recognition scenes are usually thought of as difficult ones, but a similar scene is worked out in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre.* Why not in *The Winter's Tale?*

Another scene which should have been interesting first instead of second hand was the meeting between Jacques and Touchstone in *As You Like It.* And although we know how peremptory is Kate in *The Taming of the Shrew* yet we should like to see her prevailing on the wives of Hortensio and Lucentio to present themselves before their husbands. In the same play the actual church scene might have been in bad taste, whereas we laugh heartily when we merely hear and do not see the 'mad-brain'd bridegroom' cuff the priest. Also, when in *The Merchant of Venice* we hear that "all

the boys in Venice follow [Shylock], crying, his stones, his daughter, and his ducats", we may laugh with Salarino and Salanio, but we should not do so if we saw with our own eyes.

Would Will Shakspere resent our questions, or indulgently say to us, "The best in this kind are but shadows; *and the worst are no worse if imagination amend them*"?

Superior State Teachers College
Superior, Wisconsin

THE ANNUAL CELEBRATION

At last it's a matter of history. The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., held its first annual scientific session. The date was November 19th, 1935; the place, the north ball room in the Hotel New Yorker in New York; the presiding officer, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach; the time, 2:30 to 5:30 p.m. There were present some thirty enthusiastic and fine-looking Shakspere idolaters ranging in age from twenty-five to seventy. The day was beautiful and everybody was in a cheerful frame of mind.

Professor John W. Draper (of the University of West Virginia), young and buoyant, read a provocative paper on "*Macbeth* as a compliment to King James" which was listened to with keen interest. After this Professor Roland B. Lewis (of the University of Utah) displayed and discussed facsimiles of Shakspere's alleged "confession of faith" and a "death-bed letter," both of which he proved to be undoubtedly the silly concoctions of young Ireland. Dr. Max Huhner, a distinguished New York physician, succeeded Prof. Lewis with a paper on "Shakspere's conception of the clergy" which contained some rather novel conclusions. This was followed by a paper by Professor Robert M. Smith (of Lehigh University) entitled "Three interpretations of *Romeo and Juliet.*" All the papers were followed with great interest by the auditors, and the discussions, though brief, were animated. Owing to the lateness of the hour, but mainly because of the absence of the authors, two papers were read only by title: these were Professor Robert A. Law's (University of Texas) "Watrish Burgundy", and Professor William T. Hastings' *Exit* George Wilkins." All were agreed that the session was a huge success and that it proved that American scholarship has both a need and a place for such meetings.

In the evening about forty members of the Association and their friends assembled in the same hall and enjoyed a delicious banquet. After the dinner Dr. Rosenbach read a sprightly paper on "Shakspere and the Movies" which was well received. Bob Jones, Jr., young and handsome, who had come to the meeting from Cleveland, Tennessee, entertained the audience with brilliant interpretations (in costume!) of Richard III (a scene from *Henry VI*) and of *Hamlet.* He charmed all with his person, his presence, his make-up, his interpretation, and his diction. Miss Helena Lambin sang several songs from Shakspere exquisitely, repeating her triumph of last year. Mrs. Minnie W. Gammond recited three scenes from *As You Like It* with inimitable dramatic power and fine intelligence. Her rendering of the first scene in the play, the quarrel between Orlando and Oliver, was particularly effective, making us all feel Shakspere's skill in opening a play with a bang. Mr. Frank Lea Short, the director of The Shakespeare Fellowship, then had a group of five of his company do the "kitchen scene" from *Twelfth Night* in costume. The performance was delightfully done and proved highly entertaining. It was with general regret that the meeting was then adjourned—after eleven o'clock!

We must have another meeting like this next year and we ought to have with us representatives from every state in the Union and from every American university. And the meeting must be held on a Saturday or a Sunday.

SHAKSPERE IN GERMANY

Whatever else may be dead in present-day Germany Shakspere is not. As far as we have been able to note, Nazism has not diminished German scholars' interest in the great William, even though—in all probability with trembling tongues in pale cheecks—they resolved a year or so ago to interpret the Bard hereafter in terms of the newest German philosophy. As an indication of this we refer to the most recent separately published essays on Shakspere just issued by Max Niemeyer of Halle. In one of these* the author, a well-known scholar, attempts to show that the usual interpretation of Shakspere's Julius Caesar as a coward, a weakling, a braggart, a superstitious and otherwise ridiculous fellow is false and unjustified by the poet's text and artistic intention, that, on the contrary, Caesar is a hero, the real hero of the play, and that Shakspere did not elevate Brutus to degrade Caesar. The pamphlet makes interesting reading even if it does not convince. We, speaking editorially, can learn nothing from a foreign scholar who presumes to say (p. 6) that Caesar's words ("Set on!") to Antony mean not "Proceed!" but "Look to it!", and that this shows that Shakspere knew Caesar to have been *pontifex maximus*. We expect shortly to be informed that Falstaff is a tragic character.

Miss Baesecke's book, a university thesis, deals at length and learnedly—and therewithal readably—with the development and technique of the drama from 1560 to 1700 and the relationship between drama and the theatre. Shakspere is, of course, the star around which all the discussion revolves. A bibliography of some seventy items increases the usefulness of a worthwhile contribution. We regret to note, however, that the book wants an index, a fact which greatly diminishes its value.

**Shakespeares Cäsarbild*, by Lorenz Morsbach; pp. vi + 32, wrappers; R.M. 1.80.
Das Schauspiel d. engl. Komödianten in Deutschland: Seine Dramatische Form u. seine Entwicklung, by Anna Baesecke; pp. xiv + 154, bib, wrappers; R.M. 6.50.

ALMOST RIGHT

Heartiest congratulations are due to the London association which sponsors the Shakespeare Association Facsimiles of scarce Elizabethan books and pamphlets. In the first place, it is rendering scholars a very valuable service by placing these rare tracts at their disposal; in the second place, the facsimiles are well made and attractively put out, besides being supplied with interesting and scholarly introductions. But what pleases us most is the fact that the Shakspere coat-of-arms which is so conspicuously displayed on the title-pages of these books is almost right: there is a shield with a spear surmounted by a falcon with a spear. This is enough to identify it as the Shakspere arms. And what more should a reader want? In an era of approximations, such as this is, no reader's pleasure is marred if the colors are not correctly indicated. After all, what does it matter that the shafts of the spears are not (as they should be) gold, that the wreath above the shield has only five twists (when there should be six), that the 'bend' in the shield is white (it should be black), and that the shield is traversed by horizontal bars (heraldically signifying blue) instead of being dotted (to signify gold)? Considering that as regards this whole matter we have documentary evidence, the Oxford University Press or the editor of the series—Mr. G. B. Harrison—might have aimed at a closer approximation.

RENAISSANCE SCRIPT

The Harvard University Press has just published a magnificent work dealing with the script of Shakspere's time. It is a quarto volume entitled *Specimens of Sixteenth-Century Handwriting,** is edited by Dr. Cyril B. Judge, and contains twenty-four of as fine collotype facsimiles as we have ever seen. The documents range from 1520 to 1622, thus giving the young student abundant opportunity for testing his skill in deciphering specimens of secretary script. We have but one fault to find with Dr. Judge's book: it wants transcripts of the documents. Without them the student cannot know whether he has read the facsimiles correctly.

**Specimens of Sixteenth-Century English Handwriting Taken from Contemporary Public and Private Records;* Cyril B. Judge, ed.; Cambridge, 1935, pp. xvi + 24 plates, glossary, bibliography; $3.50

COMMUNICATION

HAMLET'S FOURTH SOLILOQUY AND SAMUEL WARD

Professor Richards maintains[1] that "To be or not to be"[2] refers not to a patient endurance with suicide as the alternative; "the choice," he believes, "is rather between a distasteful passive endurance and a destructive activity that may also bring the stain of deadly sin. His fear of sin causes Hamlet to choose reluctantly 'To be' for a time—passively to await developments—"to suffer / The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune."[3] The large body of commentary[4] written on this passage reveals many conflicting points of view, and appears in every case to rest on little or no evidence drawn from contemporary thought and belief. If Professor Richards is correct in holding that Hamlet avoids rash action because of spiritual considerations, one might expect to find justification for the hero's inactivity expressed, with pertinent and concrete language, either in sermons or in the printed homiletical literature of his day. That Shakspere knew this literature and that he had an interest in current ethical theory and moral theology is the contention of recent scholarship.[5] Interesting, therefore, is the existence of pulpit opinion that throws light on the Hamlet soliloquy. Samuel Ward (1577-1640), a famous Anglican divine, who was graduated from Cambridge in 1599, taking his M.A. in 1600,[6] published *The Life of Faith in Death*[7] in 1622. Although later he adopted puritan opinions, he was one of the preachers at St. Paul's Cross, London, in 1616. The following paragraphs present for the first time a helpful commentary on the Hamlet passage that reveals contemporary thought They appear to confirm Professor Richards' analysis:

"What need a man care whether hee bee a Sadduces Swine, an Epicures

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[1] Irving T. Richards, "The Meaning of Hamlet's Soliloquy," *PMLA,* XLVIII, (1933), 741 ff.

[2] *Hamlet,* III, i. 56-188.

[3] Richards, *loc. cit.,* 757.

[4] *Ibid., passim.*

[5] See A. Hart, *Shakespeare and the Homiles, and other Pieces . . .,* Melbourne and London, 1934: Hardin Craig, "The Ethics of *King Lear," P Q,* IV, (1925), 97 *et seq. Cf.* also Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers,* 1870; Henry Green, *ed., Whitney's Choice of Emblemes,"* London, 1866, 293ff.

[6] *D N B,* LIX, 333.

[7] *The Life of Faith in Death: Exemplified in the liuing Speeches of Dying Christians, London,* 1622 *(ed. princ.).*

Horse, or himselfe? The one many times hath lesse care, and more pleasure then the other, if Death be the last line, the full point, the finall cessation of the Creature. These Bruits thanke Phylosophie that hath taught them not to feare any such Hobgoblins spirits, or old Wiues tales, as Hell . .. Yea, the most sauage and unlittered people, the lesse soiled with Art, the more confidently doe they out of Natures instinct, and diuine impression, conclude of an eternal place of well and ill being after death for the soules of men . . .[8]

How pittifull is the frenzie of those braue Spirits, as they deeme and terme themselues (as much as they scorne pittie), our Duellists, I meane, who as if they neuer had heard of Hell, are as Prodigall of their liues, as Cockes or Dogs are of theirs, powring them out vpon euerie drunken quarrell. I pittie not the losse or misse of such, good for little but to set in the front of a Battell, or to stop breaches and Canons withal; but I pitty the losse of their soules . . .[9]

I maruell not, that they feare not a Rapier, or Pistoll. Who would not chuse it before a lingring and paineful sicknesse? Were it not for the afterclaps of Death? No Coward need feare the encounter of it alone in a single combat. But Death hath a Second, a Page tenne times more dreadful then himself, with whom we haue to begin, when we haue done with Death, which is but the beginning of sorrowes. Death is pale, but his follower is a blacke Fellow, a terrible monster neuer enough feared. In which respect, how lamentable also is the blindnesse of all selfe-murderers, who make Death the remedie of euery griefe, and cure of euery violent passion: If they finde themselues inwardly vexed, or perplexed in Conscience, they seeke Death as a present ease; not considering how they leape out of the smoke into the flame, out of the flame into the fire, out of a curable monentany [*sic*] disturbance, into an endlesse inrecouerable woe . . .[10]

So doe Cowards and Crauens shut their eyes, and chuse rather to feele blowes, then to see and shunne them. Little better is the common course that most people take. Scared some are with a confused, and preposterous feare of Death, and flashes of Hell in their Consciences, and yet take no course to get pardon and Faith in Christ: but either taking it to bee some melancholly humour, send for merry companions to driue it away . . .[11]

Why dost thou not then take thy soule apart, and ruminate of these things by thy selfe, iudging thy selfe here, that thou mayest not bee condemned in the world to come. Art thou afraid of a melancholy fit, and fearest thou not this gulfe, and whirlpoole, and sorrow? Art thou not loathe to bee tormented before thy time, and fearest not to bee tormented time without end.[12]"

Kenneth Walter Cameron.

Berkeley Divinity School,
Yale University.

[8] Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 72-3.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 74-5.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 75-6. Compare Richards' belief with the comment on suicide in this and the following paragraphs.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 77-8.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 88.